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I have no data on how the child begins to talk. Old women say that the first words that the child utters are "epe epe" (meaningless). It was noticed that children learning to talk tended to repeat words, phrases and sentences used by older children in their presence. Baby talk is never used by adults when speaking to an infant or child. Mothers could give no vocabulary of words generally mispronounced by children in their efforts to speak, and none was noticed. The only abbreviation that mothers could think of was the word "tiko" instead of "titiko" (defecate).

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The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific functions to perform. He is no less sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, and cares for the child whenever it is necessary or convenient. There is no antagonism or conflict between the two parents as to the care of the child, which is looked upon as belonging equally to both parents who harmoniously tend its needs. Older siblings take care of the child only when the parents are absent and then only for short periods.

WEANING

862 Careful analysis shows that there are two types of treatment in the weaning of the child:

The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if her milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant while the child is still feeding at the breast. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care, and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually father's sister or mother's mother. This process is called *mekawats* (to break off). It is complete and absolute. The feeding parent nurses the child day and night, feeding it coconut water from a coconut shell, or grated coconut flesh and grated talo. She carries the child about most of the night, which is considered the most difficult time to keep the child pacified. Mothers say that this weaning process takes a week in the case of the most easily weaned child and as much as two weeks in the case of a fretful or difficult child. Whatever the length of time, the child is kept completely separated from its mother.

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The second method of weaning is a more gradual process. The child is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a day at a time. It is fed coconut and talo. The feeding parents fondle it and try to keep it happy and satisfied without its mother. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and talo before giving the breast. By the end of these months the child is walking, and is encouraged to identify itself with the activities of its siblings, to play away from its mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give it the breast at its demand, so that finally weaning is accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods gradually assume an importance in the child's mind, the food gaining status and prestige through being associated with a group of elders with which the child definitely wishes to be identified. It is probable that hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome also for the child by ridicule directed toward it by his elders.

EDUCATION

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Formal education of the child is markedly absent in Pukapuka today as formerly. There was no institution comparable to the "house of learning" of other Polynesian communities, nor was there a dichotomy of education, formal or informal, based on class distinctions. All the child needs to know

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The degree to which the process of weaning is traumatic depends somewhat on the type of weaning carried out. There are two methods of weaning in Pukapuka. The first is used if the mother becomes ill, or if the milk fails, or if she becomes pregnant again. In such case, the child is suddenly and immediately removed from its mother's presence and care and placed entirely in the care of a feeding parent, usually the father's sister or the mother's mother. The breaking off is complete and absolute. The feeding parent carries the child about day and night, trying to pacify it and feeding it coconut water, grated coconut, and grated taro. For some children this weaning may take a week to complete. For children more dependent upon their mothers, weaning may take two or more weeks. The second method of weaning is more gradual. The infant is taken to feeding parents in another village and left with them for a whole day at a time. The feeding parents fondle the child, feed it solid foods, and try to keep it happy and pacified. This occurs once or twice a week over a period of about two months, the mother meanwhile trying to accustom the child to solid foods, feeding him coconut and taro before giving the breast. By the end of these months, the child is walking fairly well. He is encouraged to identify himself with the activities of his siblings, to play away from his mother as much as possible. More and more the mother refuses to give the breast at the child's demand. The weaning is thus accomplished by a series of gradual steps in which other interests and other foods assume an importance in the child's mind because both are associated with the status and prestige of a group of elder children with whom the child's lot is more involved. Any hesitations over taking the steps of the weaning process are overcome for the child by the well-directed and unmistakable ridicule of elders, both adult and children.

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Again it may be noted that by the time the weaning stage is passed and the child is ready to join the children's play groups there has been little physical frustration and a lack of any discipline that could be called severe. The child has been a center of interest during infancy. Now it has been gently eased out of infancy and into the status of a relatively self-dependent childhood. Thumb sucking, incidentally, is distinguished from object sucking, is unknown among Pukapukan infants or children. This gradual process of growing up is continued during the early years of childhood (from the age, say, of two to seven or eight). Young children form mixed-sex gangs. They are relatively free from adult demands or adult interference of any sort. These gangs, consisting of perhaps six or more children drawn from neighboring households, roam about bush, reef, or beach by day or night. Their plays are either imitative games mimicking adult activities—fishing games, domestic games, "family games" (realistically acting the roles of husband and wife)—or else the free-energy activities apparently characteristic of children everywhere—laughing, dancing, racing, singing, and swimming. Hungry, the children drift back to the village for food; tired, they throw themselves down in the house for a sleep of one hour or eight. The gangs have a relatively stable existence. They appear to be based mainly on age level. Children of the upper age gradually drift out to join groups of still older children. Their places are taken by the "weaners" who drift into the group from below. Adults are generally tolerant of these children's gangs. As long as they keep to themselves, amuse themselves with their own activities, and in general are rarely

861 socialized have been confined to generalized statements about weaning and pre-puberty. These two periods are undoubtedly two formalized crisis periods in the life of the Pukapukan child. But there are others as well that are common but which probably have a differing impact, depending somewhat on obscure factors in the life of this particular Pukapukan child or that. Study of all the behavior records collected by direct observation of Pukapukan children in a wide variety of situations suggests that the most frequent of these stresses in the socialization process order themselves into the following rough and non-exhaustive classes: behavior difficulties over weaning; behavior stresses through discipline; behavior problems in adoption; fear situations of various kinds, such as fear of objects, fear of ridicule; aggressive behavior in the effort to control objects; aggressiveness towards siblings. It will be worth while to characterize these difficulties in some detail in order to illustrate both the situations that give rise to frustration and the behavior that is typical of the Pukapukan child in these circumstances.¹

159 Two observations will serve as examples of weaning stresses. These and other observations throughout this section are given in the form of field note records.

862 Mata, a childless married woman is minding her sister's baby, William (0:8),² for the day while his mother works in the two gardens. The child is soon to be weaned and has already started to eat soup and nuts; Mata's keeping the child for a whole day is part of the weaning process. The child gets restless and fretful, so Mata picks it up in her arms and rocks it violently, cuddling it fiercely, bumping it about and patting it with no gentle hand. To soothe the child further she gives it her dry breast to suck. The baby sucks hard and then when he can get no milk, he stands up, suddenly bites Mata's neck. Then he returns to her breast and ends by giving her nipple a severe nip with his teeth. Mata slaps the child on the head. The child cries hard, throws itself about in her lap. It is given some coconut flesh to eat but continues to whimper for some time thereafter.

152 Linki (1:3) is the youngest of six children living with their unmarried mother. He walks but is not yet completely weaned. His mother is just recovering from a chill and fever. She tries not to let Linki have the breast because she fears her fever may have made her milk bad for the child. She puts Linki to sleep on the section of the sleeping platform occupied by his sisters. He repeatedly gets up in the night, however, crawls over to his mother, cries loudly and tries to get at her breast. He is crying this afternoon. His mother tells me she has again tried to put him to sleep without breast

124 ¹ The material on children given here is summarized from specific observations made throughout our Pukapukan fieldwork on thirty-one children in Yaso village, the village in which we lived. This is more than half the children in the village between the ages of six months and twelve years. The children studied grouped themselves in age grades as follows: under 1 year, 4; 1-2 years, 4; 2-3 years, 4; 3-4 years, 3; 4-5 years, 4; 5-6, 6-7, 7-8, 8-9, 10-12, 2 children each. Twenty-two of the children were male, nine were female. There is no reason to think that this group as a whole (and its age distribution) does not represent a fair sample of Pukapukan children—except for the fact that an ideal sample would demand approximately equal sex representation. Specific ground taking of these thirty-one children was, of course, supplemented by more casual observation of many children in our own as well as in the two other villages on the atoll, together with long discussions with informants over childhood problems. One of us, it should also be noted, could use the Pukapukan dialect with sufficient confidence to make the native language the means of communication with both children and adults.

² Figures in parentheses after names indicate the child's age. A figure before the colon indicates years; one following the colon, months.

151 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

[863] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (12:0) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

869 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

673 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privileges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if they disobey any of his commands.

152 Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapuka. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-